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ORIGIN AF-01

STATE 135868 202207Z

B2, B1, 1.5(D)

INFO LOG-00 AID-01 AMAD-01 CIAE-00 OASY-00 DODE-00 OIGO-01
HA-09 TEDE-00 INR-00 IO-16 ADS-00 NSAE-00 OIC-02
SR-00 RPE-01 /032R

DRAFTED BY: AF/E:CWILSON:NRW

APPROVED BY: F/E:DSHINN

AF/C:MGRANDFIELD

R/AA:REHRENREICH

DIA:ROGERS

-----497F62 202209Z /38

P 202207Z MAY 94

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY KAMPALA PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA PRIORITY DAR E SALAAM PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY NAIROBI PRIORITY

S E C R E T STATE 135868

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PINR, RW, UG

SUBJECT::

B2

1. THIS CABLE, WHICH IS CLASSIFIED SECRET/NF/NC/OC/WN,
TRANSMITS THE TEXT OF A PAPER PREPARED BY DIA AT
STATE/AF'S REQUEST.

BEGIN TEXT:

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(U) POINTS OF MAJOR INTEREST:

A. (C) BACKGROUND. ON 1 OCTOBER 1990, THE RWANDAN
PATRIOTIC FRONT (PRF) INVADED RWANDA FROM UGANDA. THE RPF
WAS COMPRISED OF ABOUT 4000 SOLDIERS WHO HAD DESERTED
FROM UGANDA'S NATIONAL RESISTANCE ARMY (NRA); THERE ALSO
WERE APPROXIMATELY 3,000 CIVILIANS HO HAD BEEN RECRUITED
FROM MONG THE RWANDAN REFUGEE COMMUNITIES IN UGANDA BY
ERLY PRIL 1994 RFF PERSONNEL TRENGTH HA GROWN O

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: CHARLES L. DARIS
DATE/CASE ID: 14 APR 2003 199500391

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ABOUT 20,000. A FORCE OF THIS SIZE ANNOT ERASE OUR
REGULAR SUPPLIES OF WEAPONS, AMMUNITION VEHICLES ARE
PARTS, COMMUNICATIONS EQUIPMENT FOOD MEDICINE CLOTHING.
TENTS, AND OTHER PROVISIONS. MOREOVER THE MATERIAL THE

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2

RPF CLAIMS TO HAVE LOOTED FROM NRA STOCKS BEFORE THE 1990
INVASION OF RWANDA COULD NOT HAVE SUSTAINED EVEN
INTERMITTENT MILITARY OPERATIONS FOR MORE THAN THREE AND A
HALF YEARS. HISTORICALLY, YOWERI MUSEVENI WHO REPORTEDLY
IS OF RWANDAN DESCENT HAS HAD IMPORTANT TIES TO THE
RWANDANS WHO LIVED IN UGANDA. TWO OF THE ORIGINAL 26 MEN
WHO JOINED MUSEVENI IN 1981, WHEN HE STARTED GUERRILLA
WAR AGAINST MILTON OBOTE'S GOVERNMENT WERE RWANDAN TUTSIS
FRED RWIGYEMA AND PAUL KIGAME. UNTIL HIS DEATH IN OCTOBER
1990, RWIGYEMA COMMANDED THE RPF; KIGAME REPLACED HIM.
SUPPOSEDLY, MUSEVENI PROMISED THE RWANDANS WHO BACKED HIM
DURING HIS STRUGGLE AGAINST OBOTE THAT HE WOULD SUPPORT
THEM WHEN THEY LAUNCHED A GUERRILLA WAR TO REST CONTROL OF
THEIR HOMELAND. MUSEVENI ALSO WAS MOTIVATED BY A DESIRE
TO HAVE A GOVERNMENT IN KIGALI THAT WOULD BE MORE

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SYMPATHETIC TO THE REPATRIATION OF 200,000 RWANDAN
REFUGEES WHOSE PRESENCE IN UGANDA WAS A POLITICAL AND
ECONOMIC LIABILITY. ON THE BASIS OF THESE CONSIDERATIONS
MUSEVENI HAS PROVIDED SUPPORT TO THE RPF EVER SINCE IT
INVADED RWANDA IN 1990.

B. (S/NF/NC/OC/WN)

B1

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C. (S/NF/NC/OC/WN)

B1

D. (C) MUSEVENI'S DECEPTION. SINCE 1990, MUSEVENI HAS PURSUED A SUCCESSFUL THREE-POINT POLICY TO PREVENT WESTERN CRITICISM OF HIS LINKS TO THE RPF. FIRST, MUSEVENI SUPPORTED THE DEPLOYMENT OF AN 80-MAN UNITED NATIONS OBSERVER MISSION UGANDA/RWANDA (UNOMUR) TO VARIOUS LOCATIONS ALONG THE UGANDAN-RWANDAN BORDER HE ALSO AUTHORIZED US AND FOREIGN GOVERNMENT PERSONNEL TO MAKE

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INSPECTION TRIPS ALONG THE BORDER TO DETERMINE WHETHER
UGANDA WAS PROVIDING SUPPORT OR SANCTUARY TO THE RPF.
LASTLY, MUSEVENI HAS PLAYED A HIGH PROFILE ROLE IN
NEGOTIATIONS TO END THE RWANDAN CONFLICT.

E. (C) EAST AFRICAN REALITIES. FOR DECADES,
MUGGLING HAS FLOURISHED ALONG THE ENTIRE LENGTH OF THE
105-MILE LONG UGANDAN-RWANDAN BORDER. EVEN IF IT OPERATED
AT 100 PERCENT EFFICIENCY, AND MAINTAINED A 24-HOUR DAY
SURVEILLANCE OF THE BORDER, WHICH I MOST UNLIKELY, NOMUR
COULD FIELD ONLY FORTY MEN PER TWELVE HOUR DUTY SHIFT OR
ABOUT 26 MEN PER EIGHT HOUR DUTY SHIFT. SUCH MANNING
LEVELS ARE INSUFFICIENT TO PROVIDE ANYTHING BUT RANDOM
COVERAGE OF CROSS BORDER MOVEMENTS. MOREOVER, AN
SHIPMENT OF MILITARY SUPPLIES TO THE RPF WILL OCCUR ONLY
IN AREAS WHERE THERE ARE NO UNOMUR BORDER POSTS. ANOTHER
POSSIBILITY IS TO SHIP MILITARY AID THROUGH TANZANIA.
DURING MAJOR MOVEMENTS OF MILITARY EQUIPMENT
THE NRA OR THE RPF WILL DENY UNOMUR OR OTHER FOREIGN
ACCESS TO TRANSHIPMENT POINTS FOR "SECURITY REASONS," AS

RECENTLY HAPPENED AT THE KAGITUMBA BORDER POST IN
NORTHEAST RWANDA. INSPECTION TRIPS BY US AND FOREIGN
GOVERNMENT PERSONNEL WILL NOT DETECT ANY MILITARY ACTIVITY
ALONG THE UGANDAN-RWANDAN BORDER AS NRA AND RPF UNITS
SURELY ARE NOTIFIED BEFORE SUCH TRIPS. MUSEVENI'S SUPPORT
OF PEACE NEGOTIATIONS GARNERS WESTERN POLITICAL APPROVAL
AND LENDS CREDIBILITY TO HIS REPEATED STATEMENTS THAT
UGANDA DOES NOT PROVIDE MILITARY AID TO THE RPF.

(C/NF) EXPECTED DEVELOPMENTS. MUSEVENI WILL REMAIN
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COMMITTED TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF AN RPF GOVERNMENT IN
KIGALI. TO ACHIEVE THIS GOAL, HE WILL CONTINUE TO PROVIDE
MILITARY AID TO THE RPF. WITH FEW EXCEPTIONS, SUCH
ASSISTANCE WILL BE SHIPPED IN SMALL QUANTITIES TO PREVENT
DETECTION. AT THE SAME TIME, MUSEVENI WILL CONTINUE TO
REJECT CHARGES THAT HE IS FURNISHING WEAPONS AND OTHER
SUPPLIES TO THE RPF. ALSO, HE WILL CONTINUE TO DEFLECT
WESTERN CRITICISM BY CLAIMING THAT HIS ACCUSERS LACK

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, PROOF, OF AN NRA-RPF LINK.

END OF TEXT.

2. BUJUMBURA MINIMIZE CONSIDERED. CHRISTOPHER

SECRET

NNNN

*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a
*** Current Classification *** SECRET

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